

INCOMING MESSAGE

7175/JVC

THE WHITE HOUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



17 AUGUST 1961  
DATE

FROM: USMISSION BERLIN

TO : WHITE HOUSE

INFO :

CITE : 223

OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE

ACTION DEPT NIACT 223 WHITEHOUSE NIACT UNN BONN PRITY 119  
INFO LONDON 132 MOSCOW 127 PARIS 138, AUGUST 16, MIDNIGHT FROM  
BERLIN SIGNED LIGHTNER.

BONN ALSO PASS INFO POLAD USAREUR 122 FROM BERLIN  
PARIS FOR EMB, USRO, STOESSER AND MCGUIRE.

MAYOR BRANDT HANDED ME TODAY LETTER FOR TRANSMITTAL TO PRESIDENT  
KENNEDY. INFORMAL TRANSLATION FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

AFTER DEVELOPMENTS LAST THREE DAYS MY CITY, WISH CONVEY TO YOU

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NSC 6-25-91 *Other in NLI 80-82*

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By *100* NARS, Date *2-9-82*

WHASA FORM  
NOV 1961

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IN PERSONAL, INFORMAL LETTER SOME OF MY THOUGHTS AND  
VIEWPOINTS.

MEASURES OF ULBRICHT REGIME, SUPPORTED BY SOVUNION AND OTHER  
EAST BLOC COUNTRIES, HAVE ALMOST FULLY DESTROYED REMNANTS  
FOUR-POWER STATUS. WHILE IN PAST ALLIED COMMANDANTS HAVE  
EVEN PROTESTED AGAINST PARADES BY SO-CALLED PEOPLES' ARMY.  
THIS TIME, AFTER MILITARY OCCUPATION OF EAST SECTOR BY PEOPLES'  
ARMY, THEY HAVE LIMITED THEMSELVES TO DELAYED AND NOT VERY VIGOROUS  
STEP. ILLEGAL SOVEREIGNTY OF EAST BERLIN GOVERNMENT WAS  
ACKNOWLEDGED BY ACQUIESCING IN THE RESTRICTIONS OF THE NUMBER OF  
CROSSING POINTS AND OF ENTRY INTO THE EAST SECTOR. I REGARD THIS  
ENCROACHMENT AS THE MOST SERIOUS IN THE POSTWAR HISTORY OF THIS  
CITY SINCE THE BLOCKADE.

THIS DEVELOPMENT HAS NOT CHANGED WILL TO RESIST OF WEST BERLIN  
POPULATION, BUT HAS TENDED TO AROUSE DOUBTS AS TO DETERMINATION OF  
THREE POWERS AND THEIR ABILITY TO REACT. IN THIS CONNECTION THE  
DECISIVE FACTOR IS THAT THE WEST HAS ALWAYS SPECIFICALLY  
INVOKED THE EXISTING FOUR-POWER STATUS.

I AM WELL AWARE THAT EXISTING GUARANTEES FOR FREEDOM OF POP-  
ULATION, PRESENCE OF TROOPS AND FREE ACCESS APPLY ONLY WEST BERLIN.  
HOWEVER, THIS IS MATTER OF A DEEP WOUND IN LIFE OF GERMAN

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PEOPLE AND OF BEING FORCED OUT OF SPHERES OF COMMON RESPONSIBILITY  
(BERLIN AND GERMANY AS A WHOLE) AFFECTING WHOLE WESTERN PRESTIGE.

I SEE POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DANGERS IN TWO RESPECTS: (1)  
INACTIVITY AND MERE DEFENSIVE POSTURE CAN BRING ABOUT CRISIS OF  
CONFIDENCE IN WESTERN POWERS; (2) INACTIVITY AND MERE DEFENSIVE  
POSTURE CAN LEAD TO EXAGGERATED SELF-CONFIDENCE ON PART OF  
EAST BERLIN REGIME WHOSE NEWSPAPERS ALREADY TODAY BOAST OF SUCCESS  
ITS DEMONSTRATION OF MILITARY POWER.

SOVUNION HAS ACHIEVED HALF ITS FREE CITY PROPOSALS THROUGH USE GERMAN  
PEOPLES' ARMY. THE SECOND ACT IS A QUESTION OF TIME. AFTER SECOND  
ACT BERLIN WOULD BE LIKE A GHETTO, WHICH HAS NOT ONLY LOST ITS  
FUNCTION AS REFUGE OF FREEDOM AND SYMBOL OF HOPE FOR REUNIFICATION  
BUT WHICH WOULD ALSO BE SEVERED FROM FREE PART GERMANY. INSTEAD  
OF FLIGHT TO BERLIN, WE MIGHT THEN EXPERIENCE BEGINNING OF FLIGHT  
FROM BERLIN.

IN THIS SITUATION I CONSIDER IT PROPER THAT WESTERN POWERS, WHILE  
DEMANDING RE-ESTABLISHMENT FOUR-POWER RESPONSIBILITIES, PROCLAIM  
AT SAME TIME A THREE-POWER STATUS FOR WEST BERLIN. THREE POWERS SHOULD  
REITERATE GUARANTEE THEIR PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN UNTIL GERMAN  
REUNIFICATION AND, IF NECESSARY, HAVE THIS SUPPORTED BY PLEBISCITE  
POPULATION WEST BERLIN AND FEDREP. MUST ALSO BE SAID CLEARLY

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THAT GERMAN QUESTION IS IN NO WAY SETTLED FOR WESTERN POWERS BUT THAT THEY MUST INSIST UPON PEACE SETTLEMENT CORRESPONDING TO RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF GERMAN PEOPLE AND SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED. WOULD ALSO CONSIDER ADVISABLE THAT WEST ON OWN INITIATIVE BRING BERLIN QUESTION BEFORE UN, AT LEAST ON BASIS THAT USSR HAS VIOLATED DECLARATION HUMAN RIGHTS IN MOST FLAGRANT MANNER. APPEARS BETTER TO ME PUT USSR IN POSITION OF GUILTY PARTY THAN TO HAVE TO DISCUSS SAME THEME AFTER MOTION BY OTHER STATES.

I EXPECT FROM SUCH STEPS NO SIGNIFICANT MATERIAL CHANGE PRESENT SITUATION AND RECOLLECT NOT WITHOUT BITTERNESS DECLARATIONS REJECTING NEGOTIATIONS WITH USSR ON BASIS ONE SHOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNDER PRESSURE. WE NOW HAVE STATE OF ACCOMPLISHED EXTORTION, AND ALREADY I HEAR IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TURN DOWN NEGOTIATIONS. IN SUCH SITUATION, WHEN POSSIBILITY OF INITIATIVE FOR ACTION IS ALREADY SO SMALL, IT IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT AT LEAST TO DEMONSTRATE POLITICAL INITIATIVE.

AFTER ACQUIESCENCE IN SOV STEP WHICH IS ILLEGAL, AND HAS BEEN TERMED ILLEGAL, AND IN VIEW MANY TRAGEDIES OCCURRING TODAY EAST BERLIN AND SOVZONE, WE WILL NOT BE SPARED RISKS OF ULTIMATE DECISION. IT WOULD BE WELCOMED IF AMERICAN GARRISON WERE TO BE DEMONSTRATIVELY STRENGTHENED.

I CONSIDER SITUATION SERIOUS ENOUGH, MR. PRESIDENT, TO WRITE

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TO YOU IN ALL FRANKNESS AS IS POSSIBLE ONLY BETWEEN FRIENDS WHO  
TRUST EACH OTHER COMPLETELY.

(SIGNED) YOUR WILLY BRANDT

END TEXT

IN HANDING ME LETTER BRANDT SAID HE WOULD NOT PUBLISH TEXT.  
IN SPEECH THIS AFTERNOON BRANDT MENTIONED FACT THAT LETTER WAS SENT.

ORIGINAL LETTER BEING POUCHED.

DTG: 170200Z

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